

REMARKS

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ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

NOVEMBER 1, 1987

AT CIA HEADQUARTERS, INSCRIBED ON THE MARBLE IN THE ENTRANCE ARE THE WORDS "YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE." AND ON MY DESK IS ANOTHER PIECE OF MARBLE WITH A BRASS PLATE INSCRIBED BY EACH OF MY CHILDREN AND MY TWO GRANDCHILDREN ON THE DATE OF MY SWEARING IN. AND IT REFLECTS THE PASSAGE ON WHICH I PLACED MY HAND ON THE OPEN BIBLE, WHEN I TOOK THE OATH OF OFFICE. IT IS THE FOURTH VERSE OF THE 91ST PSALM, "HE SHALL COVER THEE WITH HIS FEATHERS, AND UNDER HIS WINGS SHALT THOU TRUST, HIS TRUTH SHALL BE THY SHIELD..." IN SO MANY WAYS OUR OWN RESPONSIBILITIES TO SOCIETY CAN BEST BE CARRIED OUT THROUGH PRINCIPLES ROOTED IN THE IMPERISHABLE TEACHINGS OF SACRED SCRIPTURE. THEREFORE FOR ME THE ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE IN A FREE SOCIETY CAN BE ACCURATELY DESCRIBED AS ASCERTAINING WHAT IS TRUE AND PUTTING TRUTH INTO ACTION. THESE GOALS SHOULD CAUSE NO HARM. THEY ARE NECESSARY AND WORTHY FOR US, BUT BECAUSE THEY ARE NECESSARILY CARRIED OUT IN SECRECY THERE IS OFTEN UNDERSTANDABLE AND OCCASIONALLY LEGITIMATE CAUSE FOR CONCERN.

NOT LONG AGO SOMEBODY GAVE ME A LAPEL BUTTON WHICH READS, "MY JOB IS SO SECRET THAT EVEN I DON'T KNOW WHAT I AM DOING." WELL THERE MAY JUST BE SOME CORRELATION BETWEEN THAT STATEMENT AND HOW WE FEEL ABOUT SECRECY. IT CONJURES UP IMAGES OF ORWELLIAN INTRUSION BY GOVERNMENT, OF CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES THAT PUT AT RISK OUR MOST CHERISHED INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES, OF MISTAKES AND BLUNDERS CONCEALED WITHIN DOCUMENTS CLASSIFIED SECRET OR "EYES ONLY."

THERE IS, OF COURSE, AN HISTORICAL BASIS FOR ALL OF THESE CONCERNS, INCLUDING SOME VERY RECENT HISTORY. BUT THAT'S REALLY NOT MY PURPOSE IN SPEAKING TO YOU TODAY. RAHTER, I PROPOSE TO TALK ABOUT THE COLLECTION OF INTELLIGENCE AT HOME AND ABROAD, AND HOW OUR CONSTITUTION WITHOUT A SINGLE REFERENCE TO INTELLIGENCE HAS ACCOMMODATED THIS FUNCTION SO VITAL TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY, AND HAS INSPIRED A SYSTEM OF OVERSIGHT THROUGH THE SEPARATION OF POWERS.

TAKING A LEAF OR TWO FROM MY EXPERIENCES ON THE FEDERAL BENCH AND AS DIRECTOR OF THE FBI, I HAVE TAKEN UP MY NEW RESPONSIBILITIES WITH TWO

CARDINAL THESES: FIRST, THAT THE INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES VITAL TO THE PROTECTION AND PRESERVATION OF OUR NATIONAL SECURITY MUST BE CONDUCTED OBJECTIVELY, PROFESSIONALLY, AND LAWFULLY, WITH ABSOLUTE FIDELITY TO OUR CONSTITUTION AND TO OUR LAWS. AND, SECOND, THERE MUST BE A TRUSTWORTHY SYSTEM OF OVERSIGHT AND ACCOUNTABILITY WHICH BUILDS, RATHER THAN ERODES, TRUST BETWEEN THOSE WHO ACT AS SURROGATES FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. OUR INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM AND THOSE WHO ACT AS SURROGATES FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

INTELLIGENCE HAS ALWAYS PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN OUR HISTORY AND IS AT LEAST AS OLD AS OUR CONSTITUTION. A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO, MALCOLM FORBES PRESENTED BILL CASEY AND ME WITH FACSIMILIES OF A LETTER BY GEORGE WASHINGTON WRITTEN TO MAJOR TALLMADGE ON SEPTEMBER 24, 1779, IN WHICH HE OUTLINED SOME OF HIS THOUGHTS ABOUT THE NEED FOR, AND THE REQUIREMENTS OF, GOOD INTELLIGENCE WORK. I AM ALSO REMINDED THAT IN 1777, WASHINGTON WROTE TO COLONEL ELIAS DAYTON DISCUSSING THE NEEDS OF INTELLIGENCE IN

THESE WORDS: "THE NECESSITY OF PROCURING GOOD INTELLIGENCE IS APPARENT AND NEED NOT BE FURTHER URGED. ALL THAT REMAINS FOR ME TO ADD IS THAT YOU KEEP THE WHOLE MATTER AS SECRET AS POSSIBLE. FOR UPON SECRECY, SUCCESS DEPENDS IN MOST ENTERPRISES OF THIS KIND, AND FOR WANT OF IT THEY ARE GENERALLY DEFEATED." IN 1790, SECRET FUNDING FOR FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES WAS FORMALIZED BY CONGRESS IN THE FORM OF A SECRET CONTINGENCY FUND FOR USE BY THE PRESIDENT.

TODAY OUR GOVERNMENT DEPENDS HEAVILY UPON ACCURATE INTELLIGENCE: INTELLIGENCE TO FORMULATE AND CONDUCT OUR FOREIGN POLICY; INTELLIGENCE TO VERIFY THE ARMS AGREEMENTS THAT WE HAVE SIGNED AND TO JUDGE WHETHER OR NOT WE COULD VERIFY THE ARMS AGREEMENTS THAT MAY BE SIGNED IN THE FUTURE; AND INTELLIGENCE TO UNDERSTAND BOTH THE MILITARY CAPABILITIES AND THE INTENTIONS OF OUR ADVERSARIES. MORE RECENTLY, INTELLIGENCE HAS BECOME VITALLY IMPORTANT IN COOPERATION WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT AS WE ATTEMPT TO DEAL AROUND THE WORLD WITH HUMAN SCOURGES OF NARCOTICS AND TERRORISM.

OUR PRIMARY CONSUMERS ARE THE PRESIDENT, THE VICE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY OF STATE, THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, AND OF COURSE, THE SELECT COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE.

INTELLIGENCE, IN ORDER TO BE WORTHWHILE, MUST BE TIMELY. IN JULY I SPENT A DAY AT NORAD, IN COLORADO SPRINGS, WITHIN THE CHEYENNE MOUNTAIN, WHICH IS ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL EARLY WARNING SYSTEMS FOR OUR COUNTRY'S NATIONAL DEFENSE. A DAY THERE CAN'T HELP BUT MAKE ONE AWARE OF THE CRITICAL IMPORTANCE OF EARLY AND ACCURATE INTELLIGENCE FOR OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE. YESTERDAY I WAS AT SAC HEADQUARTERS, IN OMAHA, NEBRASKA. MUCH TIME HAS PASSED SINCE OUR CONSTITUTION WAS FORMED, AND NOW IN TERMS OF SURVIVAL WARNINGS, WE THINK IN TERMS OF MINUTES RATHER THAN IN MONTHS AND IN YEARS.

IN SEPTEMBER I SPENT TWO WEEKS IN THE MIDDLE EAST VISITING THE EAST AND WEST BANKS AND THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, AND LOOKING AT ALL THE ARMAMENTS

ASSEMBLED AT THE BORDERS OF ISRAEL, JORDAN, AND SYRIA, IMPRESSED UPON ME THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR GATHERING AND UNDERSTANDING RELIABLE, TIMELY INTELLIGENCE. OF COURSE, THE SAME IS TRUE OF THE TACTICAL SITUATION IN THE PERSIAN GULF.

THE FORMS OF INTELLIGENCE VARY FROM THE HUMAN INTELLIGENCE THAT WE ARE ALL AWARE OF -- CLANDESTINE INTELLIGENCE THE GATHERING OF PUBLIC SOURCE INFORMATION AROUND THE WORLD -- TO SIGNALS AND COMMUNICATIONS INTELLIGENCE AND IMAGERY INTELLIGENCE, MUCH OF WHICH INVOLVES SATELLITES WHERE A SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT OF OUR BUDGET IS CURRENTLY BEING DEDICATED.

IT'S IMPORTANT THAT INFORMATION THAT IS COLLECTED BE DEVELOPED IN AN OBJECTIVE WAY -- THAT THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AND THE PEOPLE WHO ANALYZE THE INFORMATION BE SEEN AS GIVING OUR BEST ESTIMATES, NOT TO "COOK THE BOOKS" OR TO SHAPE OUR INFLUENCE POLICY, BUT TO PROVIDE POLICYMAKERS WITH THE KIND OF INFORMATION UPON WHICH THEY CAN MAKE THE BEST AND WISEST DECISIONS IN THE INTEREST OF OUR NATIONAL SECURITY.

IN ADDITION TO COLLECTION AND ANALYTICAL ACTIVITIES, THE CIA PLAYS A
ROLE IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY -- NOT OUR OWN FOREIGN
POLICY BUT THE NATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY. THIS IS DONE THROUGH ITS COVERT
ACTION PROGRAMS. THESE MAY INCLUDE POLITICAL WORK THROUGH COMMUNICATIONS
-- GETTING THE MESSAGE OUT -- TRAINING OTHERS AROUND THE WORLD, SUPPLYING
IMPORTANT MATERIALS FOR THOSE WHOM WE SUPPORT, AND GIVING ADVICE.
ALTHOUGH COVERT ACTION IS NOT DEFINED BY THE LAW, THE TERM HAS COME TO BE
UNDERSTOOD AS REFERRING TO ACTIVITIES CONDUCTED IN SUPPORT OF NATIONAL
FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE ROLE OF THE UNITED
STATES GOVERNMENT IS NOT APPARENT.

COVERT CAPABILITY, ESSENTIAL IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY, PROVIDES NEEDED
SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, OFTEN PROVIDES SUPPORT TO GOVERNMENTS,
AND ALLOWS US TO WORK IN COLLABORATION WITH THOSE GOVERNMENTS WHO DO NOT
WISH, FOR LEGITIMATE POLITICAL REASONS OF THEIR OWN, TO HAVE THE U.S.
ROLE AND INVOLVEMENT PUBLICLY KNOWN.

FROM PRESIDENT FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT FORWARD, EVERY PRESIDENT HAS
ENDORSED AND USED COVERT ACTION TO SUPPORT THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THIS
COUNTRY. ALTHOUGH COVERT ACTIONS TRADITIONALLY CLAIM ONLY A SMALL
PORTION OF THE CIA'S BUDGET, THEY ARE THE FOCUS OF THE GREATEST
CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC ATTENTION. AND HAVING SEEN SOME OF THE
RESPONSIBILITIES FOR COVERT ACTION MOVE OUTSIDE THE CIA INTO THE NATIONAL
SECURITY COUNCIL, I CAN UNDERSTAND HOW THIS HAS ADDED TO THE CONFUSION,
SUSPICION, AND THE ILL EASE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. I HAVE HEARD THIS
SITUATION DESCRIBED AS A GOVERNMENT WITHOUT RULES INSIDE A GOVERNMENT
THAT DID NOT KNOW. SINCE RESPONSIBILITY FOR COVERT ACTION HAS COME BACK
TO THE CIA -- NEVER TO LEAVE AGAIN -- I HOPE THAT I CAN CONVINCE YOU
TODAY THAT WE HAVE RULES THAT, IF FOLLOWED BY MEN OF INTEGRITY AND
DEDICATION, WILL MEET THE CONSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENTS AND SUSTAIN OUR
NATIONAL SECURITY NEEDS.

WE MUST, OF COURSE, HAVE SECRECY. BOTH CONGRESS AND THE JUDICIARY
HAVE RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR SECRECY IN MATTERS OF NATIONAL SECURITY. IN

THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT, THERE ARE EXPRESS PROVISIONS PROTECTING FROM DISCLOSURE THOSE MATTERS OF FOREIGN COUNTERINTELLIGENCE AND INFORMATION SUPPLIED TO US BY FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES. THE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE ACT, FOR EXAMPLE, PROVIDES FOR A SPECIAL COURT TO REVIEW, IN SECRET, THE APPLICATIONS FILED TO CONDUCT ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE FOR FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE PURPOSES. THIS STATUTE HAS BEEN FOUND TO BE WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE CONSTITUTION.

THE MAIN PURPOSE OF SECRECY IN THESE EFFORTS IS TO PRESERVE AND PROTECT SOURCES AND METHODS. I HAVE COME TO UNDERSTAND HOW VITAL SOURCES AND METHODS ARE TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY. IF WE CANNOT PROTECT OUR SOURCES, WHETHER THEY ARE FBI INFORMANTS OR ASSETS DEVELOPED AROUND THE WORLD, WE WILL NOT GET THE INFORMATION THAT WE NEED. IF WE CANNOT PROTECT THE SENSITIVE METHODS BY WHICH WE COLLECT THIS INFORMATION, BOTH IN TERMS OF INDIVIDUALS ON THE GROUND AND SATELLITES IN SPACE, WE WILL CEASE TO HAVE THE MEANS OF COLLECTING THIS INFORMATION.

WHILE SECRECY IS NECESSARY IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THERE ARE NEVERTHELESS OFFICIAL SURROGATES WATCHING OUT AFTER YOUR INTERESTS. IN 1976 AND 1977, BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS ESTABLISHED INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT COMMITTEES TO MONITOR ALL SIGNIFICANT INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES AND EXPENDITURES. WE FIND MANY OF THE ROLES WHICH GOVERN OUR ACTIVITIES IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY ACT, THE HUGHES-RYAN AMENDMENT, AND THE INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT ACT. FOR EXAMPLE, THE OVERSIGHT COMMITTEES, OPERATING UNDER THESE ACTS, HAVE FORMALIZED THE REPORTING OF INTELLIGENCE AND COVERT ACTIONS TO CONGRESS. THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IS NOW REQUIRED BY LAW TO KEEP THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES FULLY AND CURRENTLY INFORMED OF ALL INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES. UNDER THE HUGHES-RYAN AMENDMENT, THE PRESIDENT MUST FIND THAT EACH COVERT ACTION IS IMPORTANT TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY BEFORE THE OPERATION CAN BE INITIATED. IT CANNOT BE DONE WITHOUT THE PRESIDENT'S KNOWLEDGE AND APPROVAL.

UNDER LAW IT IS OUR DUTY TO NOTIFY THE COMMITTEES OF ANY SIGNIFICANT INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES WHICH INCLUDE ANY ACTIVITIES REQUIRING A FINDING

UNDER THE HUGHES-RYAN AMENDMENT. NOW UNDER THE STATUTE, TO MEET
EXTRAORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES AFFECTING VITAL INTERESTS OF THE UNITED
STATES, THE PRESIDENT CAN LIMIT THAT NOTIFICATION TO THE CHAIRMAN AND
RANKING MINORITY MEMBER OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES, TO THE SPEAKER
AND THE MINORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND TO THE
MAJORITY LEADER AND MINORITY LEADER OF THE SENATE -- THIS SMALLER GROUP
REFERRED TO AS THE "GANG OF EIGHT." AND THERE IS ANOTHER STATUTORY
REQUIREMENT -- THAT THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES BE FULLY INFORMED IN A
"TIMELY FASHION" OF INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES OTHER
THAN THOSE SOLELY FOR THE PURPOSE OF COLLECTING INTELLIGENCE FOR WHICH
PRIOR NOTICE WAS NOT GIVEN -- AND THE PRESIDENT MUST STATE THE REASONS
FOR NOT GIVING PRIOR NOTICE IN THOSE INSTANCES.

WE ARE IMPROVING THE MANAGEMENT CAPABILITY TO DEAL WITH COVERT
ACTIVITY. IT IS NOT ENOUGH JUST FOR THE PRESIDENT TO MAKE A FINDING
AUTHORIZING AND DIRECTING US TO TAKE SOME COVERT ACTIVITY. BEFORE

SUBMITTING THE PROPOSALS TO THE PRESIDENT, WE IN INTELLIGENCE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO DETERMINE FIRST THAT IT IS DOABLE, AND DOABLE IN A LAWFUL WAY. AND WE MUST BE SURE THAT THE INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE OUT ON THE FIRING LINE, OUTSIDE THE PROTECTION OF OUR CONSTITUTION AND OUR LAWS, IN MANY INSTANCES, CAN DO THEIR WORK IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FLEXIBILITY THAT THEY NEED, WITH THE CLEAREST POSSIBLE TRAINING AND UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE CIA AND TO THE COUNTRY.

OUR OWN INTERNAL COVERT REVIEW GROUP NOW LOOKS CAREFULLY AT ALL ASPECTS OF A COVERT FINDING AND ASKS ITSELF THESE KINDS OF QUESTIONS: IS IT CONSISTENT WITH THE OPEN UNITED STATES POLICY? WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES GOING TO BE IF THE ACTIVITY IS PUBLICLY EXPOSED? IS IT CONSISTENT WITH AMERICAN VALUES? AND WILL IT WORK? THESE SAME CONSIDERATIONS SHOULD BE BROUGHT BEFORE THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND VETTED THERE BEFORE SUBMITTING IT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR FINAL ACTION. NOT ALL COVERT ACTIVITIES WILL SUCCEED, BUT I BELIEVE THAT IF SUBJECTED TO

THESE KINDS OF TESTS, AND THIS KIND OF MANAGEMENT, WE HAVE THE BEST CHANCE OF GETTING THE MOST EFFECTIVE AND PRODUCTIVE USE FROM OUR COVERT CAPABILITY.

AS I NOTED EARLIER, OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CONGRESS MUST BE ONE OF TRUTH AND NOT OF DECEPTION. THERE IS SO MUCH CONFUSION ABOUT DENIABILITY AND DECEPTION THAT I THINK IT'S IMPORTANT TO MAKE ONE LEGITIMATE DISTINCTION. IN OUR COVERT ACTIVITY, THERE IS OFTEN DECEPTION TO CONCEAL THE SOURCE OF OUR ACTIVITY IN ORDER TO IMPLEMENT OUR FOREIGN POLICY THROUGH MEANS THAT WE BELIEVE TO BE APPROPRIATE BUT WHICH MUST NECESSARILY BE COVERT. BUT IN DEALING WITH THE CONGRESS, THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO EXCUSE FOR DECEPTION.

THERE WILL BE OCCASIONS, I BELIEVE, WHEN I MAY NOT BE IN A POSITION TO RESPOND TO A PARTICULAR QUESTION, ESPECIALLY IN AN OPEN SESSION OF CONGRESS. BUT I BELIEVE IT IS POSSIBLE TO TELL THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS -- AND I HAVE DONE SO ON OCCASION -- THAT I AM NOT AT LIBERTY TO ANSWER

THAT QUESTION, THAT I HAVE AN ANSWER BUT I CANNOT GIVE IT. THIS IS A LOT DIFFERENT FROM TRYING TO ANSWER THE QUESTION NARROWLY OR CUTELY, WHEN I KNOW WHAT THE CONGRESS WANTS TO HEAR FROM ME, OR PRETENDING THAT THEY HAVE FAILED TO ASK THE QUESTION PRECISELY ENOUGH. I THINK WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO SPEAK TO EACH OTHER AS INDIVIDUALS DOING BUSINESS -- KNOWING WHAT EACH OTHER WANTS TO KNOW AND BEING HONEST ABOUT WHAT WE ARE GOING TO TELL THEM OR NOT TELL THEM. IF I DECLINE TO ANSWER, FOR REASONS THAT SEEM LEGITIMATE TO ME, THERE ARE ALWAYS OPPORTUNITIES TO ELEVATE THAT ISSUE -- FOR CONGRESS TO APPEAL OVER MY HEAD -- OR THEY MIGHT MAKE IT ROUGH ENOUGH ON ME THAT I MAY CONCLUDE THAT I SHOULD ANSWER. BUT A LEVEL OF HONESTY -- A RECOGNITION THAT NOTHING IS BEING WITHHELD BY DECEPTION -- IS VITALLY IMPORTANT IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE BALANCE AND SHARING OF POWERS THAT IS IN OUR CONSTITUTION.

I BELIEVE THAT SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR INTELLIGENCE IS VITALLY IMPORTANT, BOTH ON THE EXECUTIVE AND ON THE CONGRESSIONAL SIDE. WE MUST

WORK CLOSELY WITH THOSE IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH WHO MUST MAKE THE POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS THAT DEFINE OUR PRESENT AND SHAPE OUR FUTURE, PROVIDING OUR ASSESSMENTS OBJECTIVELY, PROFESSIONALLY, HELPING TO PUT TRUTH INTO ACTION. WE MUST WORK WITH THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES WHICH ACT IN SECRET AS SURROGATES FOR THE CONGRESS AND FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND WE MUST BE WORTHY OF THEIR TRUST. AND WE MUST DILIGENTLY CARRY OUT OUR ASSIGNMENTS AROUND THE WORLD, HOWEVER DIFFICULT, WITH FIDELITY TO THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LAWS OF OUR BELOVED COUNTRY. A NATION DEDICATED TO THE RULE OF LAW CAN PROTECT ITSELF IN NO OTHER WAY.